

the states involved in the conflict, which could only cause irritation and even serve as a provocation for a fateful step. Therefore, we must display sanity, reason, and refrain from such steps.

We value peace perhaps even more than other peoples because we went through a terrible war with Hitler. But our people will not flinch in the face of any test. Our people trust their Government, and we assure our people and world public opinion that the Soviet Government will not allow itself to be provoked. But if the provocateurs unleash a war, they will not evade responsibility and the grave consequences a war would bring upon them. But we are confident that reason will triumph, that war will not be unleashed and peace and the security of the peoples will be insured.

In connection with the current negotiations between Acting Secretary General U Thant and representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, and the Republic of Cuba, the Soviet Government has sent First Deputy Foreign Minister V. V. Kusnetsov to New York to help U Thant in his noble efforts aimed at eliminating the present dangerous situation.

Respectfully yours,

N. KHRUSHCHEV.

[Moscow,] October 28, 1962.

Official Translation ²¹

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have received your message of October 27, 1962. I express my satisfaction and appreciation for the sense of proportion you have displayed, and for your understanding of the responsibility you now bear for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

I regard with great understanding your apprehension and the apprehension of the people of the United States of America over the fact that the weapons which you describe as offensive are indeed terrible weapons.

Both you and we understand what kind of weapons they are.

In order to eliminate as rapidly as possible a conflict which endangers the cause of peace, to give confidence to all peoples longing for peace, and to reassure the people of America, who, I am sure, want peace as much as the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, in addition to previously issued instructions for the cessation of further work at the weapons construction sites, has issued a new order to dismantle the weapons, which you describe as offensive, and to crate and return them to the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, I would like to repeat, as I have already stated in my previous letters, that the

Soviet Government has extended economic aid as well as arms to the Government of Cuba, since Cuba and the Cuban people have constantly been under the continual threat of an invasion of Cuba.

A piratical vessel has shelled Havana. It is said that irresponsible Cuban émigrés did the shooting. This is possibly the case. But the question arises: from where did they shoot? After all, these Cubans have no territory; they are fugitives from their homeland; they have no funds for conducting military actions.

This means that someone put into their hands the weapons for shelling Havana and for piratical acts in the Caribbean, in Cuban territorial waters. It is unthinkable in our time that a pirate ship could pass unnoticed, particularly considering the saturation of the Caribbean with American ships from which literally all of this is seen and observed. And in such circumstances pirate ships freely roam about Cuba, shell Cuba, and carry out piratical attacks upon peaceful cargo ships. It is, after all, known that they even shelled a British freighter.

In short, Cuba has been under a continual threat from aggressive forces that have not concealed their intention to invade Cuba's territory.

The Cuban people wish to build their life in their own interests without external interference. This is their right, and they cannot be blamed for wanting to be masters of their own country and to enjoy the fruits of their labor. The threat of a Cuban invasion and all the other designs aimed at surrounding Cuba with tension are designed to engender uncertainty in the Cuban people, to intimidate them, and to hinder them in freely building their new life.

Mr. President, I want to say clearly once again that we could not be indifferent to this, and so the Soviet Government decided to help Cuba with means of defense against aggression—means only for purposes of defense. We placed means of defense there, means which you call offensive. We placed them there in order that no attack might be made against Cuba and that no rash acts might be permitted.

I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your message of October 27, 1962, that no attack would be made on Cuba and that no invasion would take place—not only on the part of the United States, but also on the part of other countries of the Western Hemisphere, as your same message pointed out. In view of this, the motives which prompted us to give aid of this nature to Cuba no longer prevail. Hence, we have instructed our officers (these means, as I have already reported to you, are in the hands of Soviet officers) to take the necessary measures to stop the construction of the facilities indicated, and to dismantle and return them to the Soviet Union. As I have already informed you in my letter of October 27, we are prepared to come to an agreement with you to

DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

REVIEWED BY J. L. Smith DATE APR 2 1964

RDS or RDS EXT. DATE

TS AUTH. REASON(S)

ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS

Department of State Bulletin

able representatives of the U.N. to verify the dismantling of these means.

In this way, on the basis of the assurances you have made and of our orders to dismantle, there appear to exist all the necessary conditions for the elimination of the conflict which has arisen.

I note with satisfaction that you have echoed my desire that this dangerous situation be eliminated and also that conditions be created for a more thorough appraisal of the international situation, which is fraught with great dangers in our age of thermonuclear weapons, rocket technology, space ships, global rockets, and other lethal weapons. All mankind is interested in ensuring peace.

Therefore, we who bear great trust and responsibility must not permit the situation to become aggravated but must eliminate breeding grounds where dangerous situations are created, fraught with serious consequences for the cause of peace. And if we, together with you and other people of good will, succeed in eliminating this tense situation, we must also concern ourselves with seeing that other dangerous conflicts do not arise which might lead to a world thermonuclear catastrophe.

In conclusion, I should like to say something about the improvement of relations between NATO and the states of the Warsaw Pact, which you mention. We spoke of this a long time ago, and are ready to continue exchanging opinions with you on this question and to find a reasonable solution. We also wish to continue to exchange opinions on the prohibition of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, on general disarmament, and on other questions relating to relaxation of international tensions.

Mr. President, I place belief in your statement. On the other hand there are irresponsible people who would like to carry out an invasion of Cuba at this time and thereby unleash a war. If we take practical steps and announce the dismantling and evacuation of the above-mentioned means from Cuba, in doing so we at the same time want the Cuban people to be sure that we are with them and are not relieving ourselves of the responsibility of granting aid to the Cuban people.

We are convinced that the peoples of all countries will, like yourself, Mr. President, understand me correctly. We do not threaten. We desire only peace. Our country is now on the upswing. Our people are enjoying the fruits of their peaceful labor. They have achieved tremendous successes since the October Revolution, and have created the greatest material, spiritual, and cultural values. Our people are making use of these values and want to develop their achievements further and by their steadfast labor to ensure even greater growth along the path of peace and social progress.

I should like, Mr. President, to remind you that military aircraft of a reconnaissance nature have violated the frontiers of the Soviet Union, over which matter we had a controversy with you, and

an exchange of notes took place. In 1960 we shot down your aircraft. Those reconnaissance flights over the U.S.S.R. led to the disruption of the summit meeting in Paris. You took a hostile position at the time in condemning that criminal action on the part of the previous Administration of the United States.

But during your term of office as President, a second case of violation of our frontier by an American U-2 aircraft has taken place in the Sakhalin area. We informed you of this violation on August 30. You then replied that this violation had occurred as a result of bad weather and gave assurances that it would not be repeated. We accepted your assurances because there was, indeed, bad weather in that area at the time.

However, if your aircraft had not been given a mission to fly near our territory, then even bad weather could not have led an American aircraft into our air space. The conclusion follows that this is done with the knowledge of the Pentagon, which tramples on international norms and violates the frontiers of other states.

An even more dangerous case occurred on October 28, when your reconnaissance aircraft invaded the northern area of the Soviet Union, in the area of the Chukotski Peninsula, and flew over our territory. One asks, Mr. President, how we should regard this. What is this—a provocation? Your aircraft violates our frontier, and this happens at a time as troubled as the one through which we are now passing, when everything has been put in battle readiness. For an intruding U.S. aircraft can easily be taken for a bomber with nuclear weapons, and that can push us toward a fatal step. All the more so, because the U.S. Government and the Pentagon have long been saying that you continually maintain bombers with atomic bombs in the air. Therefore, you can imagine what kind of responsibility you assume, especially during such an anxious time as the present.

I should like to ask you to assess this correctly and to take steps accordingly, to prevent it from serving as a provocation to touch off a war.

I should also like to express to you the following wish. Of course, this is the Cuban people's affair—you do not at present maintain diplomatic relations, but through my officers in Cuba I have reports that American planes are conducting flights over Cuba.

We are interested in not having any war at all in the world and in the Cuban people's being able to live in peace. But, in addition to this, Mr. President, it is no secret that we have our people in Cuba. By agreement with the Cuban Government, we have there officers and instructors who are training the Cubans; they are mainly ordinary people, including specialists, agronomists, animal husbandry technicians, irrigation and reclamation experts, common laborers, tractor drivers, and others. We have concern for them.

I should like to ask you, Mr. President, to bear in mind that a violation of Cuban air space by American aircraft may also have dangerous consequences. And if you do not want that, no cause should be given for the creation of a dangerous situation.

We must now be very cautious and refrain from any acts that would not help in the defense of the states involved in the controversy, but which could arouse only irritation, and even prove to be a provocation for a fatal step. We must therefore display sense and wisdom, and refrain from acts of that kind.

We value peace, perhaps even more than other peoples, because we experienced a terrible war against Hitler. But our people will not flinch in the face of any ordeal; our people trust their own government, and we assure our own people and world public opinion that the Soviet Government will not allow itself to be provoked. But if the provocateurs unleash a war, they will not escape the responsibility and the grave consequences that war will bring to them. We are confident, however, that reason will prevail, that war will not be unleashed, and that the peace and security of peoples will be ensured.

In regard to the current negotiations of Acting Secretary General U Thant, with representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba, the Soviet Government has sent to New York V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., with a view to assisting Mr. Thant in his noble efforts aimed at eliminating the present dangerous situation.

Respectfully yours,

N. KHRUSHCHEV.

[Moscow,] October 28, 1962.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 28, 1962²²

[WASHINGTON,] October 28, 1962.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am replying at once to your broadcast message of October twenty-eight, even though the official text has not yet reached me, because of the great importance I attach to moving forward promptly to the settlement of the Cuban crisis. I think that you and I, with our heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, were aware that developments were approaching a point where events could have become unmanageable. So I welcome this message and consider it an important contribution to peace.

The distinguished efforts of Acting Secretary General U Thant have greatly facilitated both our tasks. I consider my letter to you of October twenty-seventh and your reply of today as firm undertakings on the part of both our governments which should be promptly carried out. I hope that the necessary measures can at once be taken through the United Nations, as your message says, so that the United States in turn will be able to remove²³ the quarantine measures now in effect. I have already made arrangements to report all these matters to the Organization of American States, whose members share a deep interest in a genuine peace in the Caribbean area.

You referred in your letter to a violation of your frontier by an American aircraft in the area of the Chukotsk Peninsula. I have learned that this plane, without arms or photographic equipment, was engaged in an air sampling mission in connection with your nuclear tests. Its course was direct from Eielson Air Force Base in Alaska to the North Pole and return. In turning south, the pilot made a serious navigational error which carried him over Soviet territory. He immediately made an emergency call on open radio for navigational assistance and was guided back to his home base by the most direct route. I regret this incident and will see to it that every precaution is taken to prevent recurrence.

Mr. Chairman, both of our countries have great unfinished tasks and I know that your people as well as those of the United States can ask for nothing better than to pursue them free from the fear of war. Modern science and technology have given us the possibility of making labor fruitful beyond anything that could have been dreamed of a few decades ago.

²² Reprinted from BULLETIN of Nov. 12, 1962, pp. 745-746. This message was transmitted by the Department of State to the American Embassy at Moscow at 5:03 p.m. Washington time, Oct. 28, 1962; delivered to the Soviet Foreign Ministry at 6:08 a.m. Moscow time, Oct. 29. Text also delivered to the Soviet Embassy at Washington on Oct. 28 and released to the press at 4:35 p.m. on that date.

²³ As transmitted to Moscow, the text read "in turn ban tests".

TRANSLATION FOLLOWS

343

FBIS 53

TEXT OF KHRUSHCHEV MESSAGE (FROM MOSCOW) 19 OCT 62
 MOSCOW DOMESTIC SERVICE IN RUSSIAN 1405 28 OCT 62 L

(TEXT) ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 27, 1962. I EXPRESS MY SATISFACTION AND GRATITUDE FOR THE SENSE OF PROPORTION AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY BORNE BY YOU AT PRESENT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHICH YOU HAVE SHOWN. I VERY WELL UNDERSTAND YOUR ANXIETY AND THE ANXIETY OF THE UNITED STATES PEOPLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE FACT THAT THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE AS "OFFENSIVE" ARE, IN FACT, GRIM WEAPONS. BOTH YOU AND I UNDERSTAND WHAT KIND OF WEAPON THEY ARE.

IN ORDER TO COMPLETE WITH GREATER SPEED THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT DANGEROUS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE, TO GIVE CONFIDENCE TO ALL PEOPLE LONGING FOR PEACE, AND TO CALM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO, I AM CERTAIN, WANT PEACE AS MUCH AS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IN ADDITION TO PREVIOUSLY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS ON THE CESSATION OF FURTHER WORK AT BUILDING SITES FOR THE WEAPONS, HAS ISSUED A NEW ORDER ON THE DISMANTLING OF THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE AS "OFFENSIVE," AND THEIR CRATING AND RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT ONCE MORE WHAT I HAD ALREADY WRITTEN TO YOU IN MY PRECEDING LETTERS--THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC AID, AS WELL AS ARMS, INASMUCH AS CUBA AND THE CUBAN PEOPLE HAVE CONSTANTLY BEEN UNDER THE CONTINUOUS DANGER OF AN INVASION.

THE SHELLING OF HAVANA TOOK PLACE FROM A PIRATIC SHIP. IT IS SAID THAT IRRESPONSIBLE CUBAN EMIGRES DID THE SHOOTING. THIS IS POSSIBLY THE CASE. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION ARISES: FROM WHERE DID THEY FIRE? AFTER ALL, THEY, THESE CUBANS, HAVE NO TERRITORY, THEY HAVE NO PRIVATE MEANS, AND THEY HAVE NO MEANS TO WAGE MILITARY ACTION. THUS SOMEBODY PUT THE ARMS NEEDED TO SHELL HAVANA AND CARRY OUT THEIR PIRATIC ACTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN--IN CUBAN TERRITORIAL WATERS--IN THEIR HANDS!

IT IS UNTHINKABLE IN OUR TIME NOT TO NOTICE A PIRATE SHIP, PARTICULARLY IF ONE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SUCH A SATURATION OF AMERICAN SHIPS IN THE CARIBBEAN FROM WHICH ACTUALLY ALL THIS IS WATCHED AND OBSERVED. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, PIRATIC SHIPS ARE FREELY MOVING AROUND CUBA, SHELLING CUBA, AND CARRYING OUT PIRATIC ATTACKS UPON PEACEFUL TRANSPORT VESSELS! IT IS, AFTER ALL, KNOWN THAT THEY EVEN SHELLED A BRITISH FREIGHTER!

IN SHORT, CUBA HAS BEEN UNDER THE CONSTANT THREAT OF AGGRESSIVE FORCES WHICH DID NOT CONCEAL THEIR INTENTIONS TO INVADE CUBAN TERRITORY.

THE CUBAN PEOPLE WANT TO BUILD THEIR LIFE IN THEIR OWN INTEREST WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM WITHOUT. YOU ARE RIGHT IN THIS, AND ONE CANNOT BLAME THEM BECAUSE THEY WANT TO BE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY AND DISPOSE OF THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOR. THE THREAT OF CUBA'S INVASION AND ALL THE OTHER VENTURES AIMED AT BRINGING

FIRST ADD 53 (KHRUSHCHEV TEXT)

X X X PURPOSES OF DEFENSE

(CONTINUING TEXT) WE STATIONED DEFENSE MEANS THERE WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE. WE STATIONED THEM THERE IN ORDER THAT NO ATTACK SHOULD BE MADE AGAINST CUBA AND THAT NO RASH ACTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO TAKE PLACE.

I REGARD WITH RESPECT AND TRUST YOUR STATEMENT IN YOUR MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 27, 1962 THAT NO ATTACK WILL BE MADE ON CUBA--THAT NO INVASION WILL TAKE PLACE--NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO BY OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, AS YOUR MESSAGE POINTED OUT. THEN THE MOTIVES WHICH PROMOTED US TO GIVE AID OF THIS NATURE TO CUBA CEASE. THEY ARE NO LONGER APPLICABLE. HENCE WE HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR OFFICERS--AND THESE MEANS, AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED, ARE IN THE HANDS OF SOVIET OFFICERS--TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR STOPPING THE BUILDING OF THE SAID PROJECTS AND THEIR DISMANTLING AND RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

AS I ALREADY TOLD YOU IN MY LETTER OF OCTOBER 27, WE BOTH AGREE TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT THAT UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVES COULD VERIFY THE DISMANTLING OF THESE MEANS.

IN THIS WAY, IF ONE IS TO RELY ON YOUR ASSURANCES WHICH YOU HAVE MADE AND ON OUR ORDERS TO DISMANTLE, THEN ALL NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT WHICH HAS ARISEN APPEAR TO EXIST.

I NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO MY WISH THAT THE SAID DANGEROUS SITUATION SHOULD BE LIQUIDATED AND ALSO THAT CONDITIONS SHOULD BE CREATED FOR A MORE THOUGHTFUL APPRAISAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WHICH IS FRAUGHT WITH GREAT DANGERS IN OUR AGE OF THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS, ROCKET TECHNOLOGY, SPACE SHIPS, GLOBAL ROCKETS, AND OTHER LETHAL WEAPONS. ALL PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN INSURING PEACE. THEREFORE, WE WHO ARE INVESTED WITH TRUST AND GREAT RESPONSIBILITY MUST NOT PERMIT AN EXACERBATION OF THE SITUATION AND MUST LIQUIDATE THE BREEDING GROUNDS WHERE A DANGEROUS SITUATION HAS BEEN CREATED FRAUGHT WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IF WE SUCCEED ALONG WITH YOU AND WITH THE AID OF OTHER PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL IN LIQUIDATING THIS TENSE SITUATION, WE MUST ALSO CONCERN OURSELVES TO SEE THAT OTHER DANGEROUS CONFLICTS DO NOT ARISE WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR CATASTROPHE.

IN CONCLUSION, I WISH TO SPEAK OF THE REGULATION OF RELATION BETWEEN NATO AND STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY, WHICH YOU MENTION. WE HAVE LONG AGO SPOKEN OF THIS AND ARE READY TO CONTINUE AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS WITH YOU ON THIS QUESTION AND FIND A REASONABLE SOLUTION. I ALSO WISH TO CONTINUE AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC AND THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS, GENERAL DISARMAMENT, AND OTHER QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I TRUST YOUR STATEMENT. HOWEVER, ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO CARRY OUT AN INVASION OF CUBA AT THIS TIME, AND IN SUCH A WAY TO SPARK OFF A WAR. IF WE TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS AND ANNOUNCE THE DISMANTLING AND EVACUATION OF THE APPROPRIATE MEANS FROM CUBA, THEN, DOING THAT, WE WISH TO ESTABLISH AT THE SAME TIME THE CONFIDENCE OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE THAT WE ARE WITH THEM AND ARE NOT DIVESTING OURSELVES OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GRANTING HELP TO THEM.

1962 EXPRESS MY SATISFACTION AND GRATITUDE FOR THE SENSE OF PROPORTION AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY BORNE BY YOU AT PRESENT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHICH YOU HAVE SHOWN. I VERY WELL UNDERSTAND YOUR ANXIETY AND THE ANXIETY OF THE UNITED STATES PEOPLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE FACT THAT THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE AS "OFFENSIVE" ARE, IN FACT, GRIM WEAPONS. BOTH YOU AND I UNDERSTAND WHAT KIND OF WEAPON THEY ARE.

IN ORDER TO COMPLETE WITH GREATER SPEED THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT DANGEROUS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE, TO GIVE CONFIDENCE TO ALL PEOPLE LONGING FOR PEACE, AND TO CALM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO, I AM CERTAIN, WANT PEACE AS MUCH AS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IN ADDITION TO PREVIOUSLY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS ON THE CESSATION OF FURTHER WORK AT BUILDING SITES FOR THE WEAPONS, HAS ISSUED A NEW ORDER ON THE DISMANTLING OF THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE AS "OFFENSIVE," AND THEIR CRATING AND RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT ONCE MORE WHAT I HAD ALREADY WRITTEN TO YOU IN MY PRECEDING LETTERS--THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC AID, AS WELL AS ARMS, INASMUCH AS CUBA AND THE CUBAN PEOPLE HAVE CONSTANTLY BEEN UNDER THE CONTINUOUS DANGER OF AN INVASION.

THE SHELLING OF HAVANA TOOK PLACE FROM A PIRATIC SHIP. IT IS SAID THAT IRRESPONSIBLE CUBAN EMIGRES DID THE SHOOTING. THIS IS POSSIBLY THE CASE. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION ARISES: FROM WHERE DID THEY FIRE? AFTER ALL, THEY, THESE CUBANS, HAVE NO TERRITORY, THEY HAVE NO PRIVATE MEANS, AND THEY HAVE NO MEANS TO WAGE MILITARY ACTION. THUS SOMEBODY PUT THE ARMS NEEDED TO SHELL HAVANA AND CARRY OUT THEIR PIRATIC ACTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN--IN CUBAN TERRITORIAL WATERS--IN THEIR HANDS!

IT IS UNTHINKABLE IN OUR TIME NOT TO NOTICE A PIRATE SHIP, PARTICULARLY IF ONE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SUCH A SATURATION OF AMERICAN SHIPS IN THE CARIBBEAN FROM WHICH ACTUALLY ALL THIS IS WATCHED AND OBSERVED. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, PIRATIC SHIPS ARE FREELY MOVING AROUND CUBA, SHELLING CUBA, AND CARRYING OUT PIRATIC ATTACKS UPON PEACEFUL TRANSPORT VESSELS! IT IS, AFTER ALL, KNOWN THAT THEY EVEN SHELLED A BRITISH FREIGHTER!

IN SHORT, CUBA HAS BEEN UNDER THE CONSTANT THREAT OF AGGRESSIVE FORCES WHICH DID NOT CONCEAL THEIR INTENTIONS TO INVADE CUBAN TERRITORY.

THE CUBAN PEOPLE WANT TO BUILD THEIR LIFE IN THEIR OWN INTEREST WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM WITHOUT. YOU ARE RIGHT IN THIS, AND ONE CANNOT BLAME THEM BECAUSE THEY WANT TO BE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY AND DISPOSE OF THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOR. THE THREAT OF CUBA'S INVASION AND ALL THE OTHER VENTURES AIMED AT BRINGING ABOUT TENSION AROUND CUBA ARE DESIGNED TO ENGENDER UNCERTAINTY IN THE CUBAN PEOPLE, INTIMIDATE THEM, AND HINDER THEM IN BUILDING THEIR NEW LIFE UNDISTURBED.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WANT TO SAY CLEARLY AGAIN THAT WE COULD NOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THIS. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO HELP CUBA WITH MEANS OF DEFENSE AGAINST AGGRESSION--AND ONLY WITH MEANS FOR PURPOSES OF DEFENSE.

(MORE)

INVASION WILL TAKE PLACE, NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO BY OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, AS YOUR MESSAGE POINTED OUT. THEN THE MOTIVES WHICH PROMOTED US TO GIVE AID OF THIS NATURE TO CUBA CEASE. THEY ARE NO LONGER APPLICABLE. HENCE WE HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR OFFICERS--AND THESE MEANS, AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED, ARE IN THE HANDS OF SOVIET OFFICERS--TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR STOPPING THE BUILDING OF THE SAID PROJECTS AND THEIR DISMANTLING AND RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

AS I ALREADY TOLD YOU IN MY LETTER OF OCTOBER 27, WE BOTH AGREE TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT THAT UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVES COULD VERIFY THE DISMANTLING OF THESE MEANS.

IN THIS WAY, IF ONE IS TO RELY ON YOUR ASSURANCES WHICH YOU HAVE MADE AND ON OUR ORDERS TO DISMANTLE, THEN ALL NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT WHICH HAS ARISEN APPEAR TO EXIST.

I NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO MY WISH THAT THE SAID DANGEROUS SITUATION SHOULD BE LIQUIDATED AND ALSO THAT CONDITIONS SHOULD BE CREATED FOR A MORE THOUGHTFUL APPRAISAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WHICH IS FRAUGHT WITH GREAT DANGERS IN OUR AGE OF THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS, ROCKET TECHNOLOGY, SPACESHIPS, GLOBAL ROCKETS, AND OTHER LETHAL WEAPONS. ALL PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN INSURING PEACE. THEREFORE, WE WHO ARE INVESTED WITH TRUST AND GREAT RESPONSIBILITY MUST NOT PERMIT AN EXACERBATION OF THE SITUATION AND MUST LIQUIDATE THE BREEDING GROUNDS WHERE A DANGEROUS SITUATION HAS BEEN CREATED FRAUGHT WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IF WE SUCCEED ALONG WITH YOU AND WITH THE AID OF OTHER PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL IN LIQUIDATING THIS TENSE SITUATION, WE MUST ALSO CONCERN OURSELVES TO SEE THAT OTHER DANGEROUS CONFLICTS DO NOT ARISE WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR CATASTROPHE.

IN CONCLUSION, I WISH TO SPEAK OF THE REGULATION OF RELATION BETWEEN NATO AND STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY, WHICH YOU MENTION. WE HAVE LONG AGO SPOKEN OF THIS AND ARE READY TO CONTINUE AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS WITH YOU ON THIS QUESTION AND FIND A REASONABLE SOLUTION. I ALSO WISH TO CONTINUE AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC AND THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS, GENERAL DISARMAMENT, AND OTHER QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I TRUST YOUR STATEMENT. HOWEVER, ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO CARRY OUT AN INVASION OF CUBA AT THIS TIME, AND IN SUCH A WAY TO SPARK OFF A WAR. IF WE TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS AND ANNOUNCE THE DISMANTLING AND EVACUATION OF THE APPROPRIATE MEANS FROM CUBA, THEN, DOING THAT, WE WISH TO ESTABLISH AT THE SAME TIME THE CONFIDENCE OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE THAT WE ARE WITH THEM AND ARE NOT DIVESTING OURSELVES OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GRANTING HELP TO THEM.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES, LIKE YOURSELF, MR. PRESIDENT, WILL UNDERSTAND ME CORRECTLY. WE DO NOT ISSUE THREATS. WE DESIRE ONLY PEACE. OUR COUNTRY IS NOW ON THE UPSURGE. OUR PEOPLE ARE ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF THEIR PEACEFUL LABOR. THEY HAVE ACHIEVED TREMENDOUS SUCCESSSES SINCE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND CREATED SUPREME MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL-CULTURAL TREASURES. OUR COUNTRY IS MAKING USE OF THESE TREASURES AND WANTS TO DEVELOP ITS SUCCESSSES FURTHER AND INSURE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT ON THE ROAD OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS BY ITS STEADFAST LABOR.

(MORE)

FBIS 53

SECOND AND LAST ADD 53 (KHRUSHCHEV TEXT)

X X X ITS STEADFAST LABOR

(CONCLUDING TEXT) I SHOULD LIKE, MR. PRESIDENT, TO REMIND YOU THAT MILITARY AIRCRAFT OF A RECONNAISSANCE CHARACTER HAVE VIOLATED THE FRONTIER OF THE SOVIET UNION IN CONNECTION WITH WHICH WE HAD CONFLICTS WITH YOU. AN EXCHANGE OF NOTES TOOK PLACE.

IN 1960, WE SHOT DOWN YOUR U-2 AIRCRAFT, THE RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHT OF WHICH OVER THE USSR LED TO THE WRECKING OF THE MEETING OF THE POWERS IN PARIS. YOU THEN TOOK A CORRECT POSITION IN CONDEMNING THAT CRIMINAL ACTION BY THE FORMER UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, DURING THE PERIOD OF YOUR TENURE OF OFFICE AS PRESIDENT, A SECOND INSTANCE OF THE VIOLATION OF OUR FRONTIER BY AN AMERICAN U-2 AIRCRAFT TOOK PLACE IN THE SAKHALIN AREA. WE WROTE YOU ABOUT THIS VIOLATION ON AUGUST 30. YOU REPLIED THAT THIS VIOLATION HAD TAKEN PLACE AS THE RESULT OF BAD WEATHER AND GAVE AN ASSURANCE THAT IT WOULD NOT BE REPEATED. WE GAVE CREDENCE TO YOUR ASSURANCE BECAUSE THERE WAS INDEED BAD WEATHER IN THAT AREA AT THAT TIME. HOWEVER, IF YOUR AIRCRAFT DID NOT HAVE THE TASK OF FLYING NEAR OUR TERRITORY, THEN EVEN BAD WEATHER COULD NOT CAUSE AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT TO ENTER OUR AIRSPACE.

THE CONCLUSION FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT IT IS DONE WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PENTAGON, WHICH TRAMPLES ON INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES AND VIOLATES THE FRONTIERS OF OTHER STATES.

AN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS CASE OCCURRED ON OCTOBER 23 WHEN YOUR RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT INTRUDED INTO THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NORTH, IN THE AREA OF THE CHUKOTKA PENINSULA, AND FLEW OVER OUR TERRITORY.

ONE ASKS, MR. PRESIDENT, HOW SHOULD WE REGARD THIS? WHAT IS IT A PROVOCATION? YOUR AIRCRAFT VIOLATES OUR FRONTIER AND AT TIMES AS ANXIOUS AS THOSE WHICH WE ARE NOW EXPERIENCING WHEN EVERYTHING HAS BEEN PLACED IN A STATE OF COMBAT READINESS. FOR AN INTRUDING AMERICAN AIRCRAFT CAN EASILY BE TAKEN FOR A BOMBER WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THIS COULD PUSH US TOWARD A FATAL STEP--ALL THE MORE SO BECAUSE BOTH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PENTAGON HAVE LONG BEEN SAYING THAT BOMBERS WITH ATOMIC BOMBS ARE CONSTANTLY ON DUTY IN YOUR COUNTRY.

THEREFORE, YOU CAN IMAGINE WHAT KIND OF RESPONSIBILITY YOU ASSUME, ESPECIALLY NOW DURING THE ANXIOUS TIMES WE ARE NOW EXPERIENCING.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO ASSESS THIS CORRECTLY AND TAKE STEPS ACCORDINGLY IN ORDER THAT IT WOULD NOT SERVE AS A PROVOCATION FOR UNLEASHING WAR.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EXPRESS THE FOLLOWING WISH. OF COURSE, IT IS A MATTER FOR THE CUBAN PEOPLE. YOU DO NOT AT PRESENT MAINTAIN ANY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BUT THROUGH MY OFFICERS ON CUBA I HAVE REPORTS THAT FLIGHTS OF AMERICAN AIRCRAFT OVER CUBA ARE BEING CARRIED OUT. WE ARE INTERESTED THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY WAR AT ALL IN THE WORLD, AND THAT THE CUBAN PEOPLE SHOULD LIVE QUIETLY. HOWEVER, MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS NO SECRET THAT WE HAVE OUR PEOPLE ON CUBA. ACCORDING TO THE TREATY WITH THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE OFFICERS AND INSTRUCTORS THERE WHO ARE TRAINING THE CUBANS. THEY ARE MAINLY ORDINARY PEOPLE--EXPERTS, AGRONOMISTS, ZOOTECNICIANS, IRRIGATION AND SOIL IMPROVEMENT EXPERTS, ORDINARY WORKERS, TRACTOR DRIVERS, AND OTHERS. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THEM.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO BEAR IN MIND THAT A VIOLATION OF CUBAN AIRSPACE BY AMERICAN AIRCRAFT MAY ALSO HAVE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES. IF YOU DO NOT WANT THIS, THEN NO PRETEXT SHOULD BE GIVEN FOR THE CREATION OF A DANGEROUS SITUATION.

WE MUST BE NOW VERY CAUTIOUS AND NOT TAKE SUCH STEPS WHICH WILL BE OF NO USE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE STATES INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT, BUT WHICH ARE LIKELY TO AROUSE ONLY IRRITATION AND EVEN PROVE A PROVOCATION LEADING TO THE BANEFUL STEP. WE MUST, THEREFORE, DISPLAY SOBRIETY AND WISDOM AND REFRAIN FROM STEPS OF THIS SORT.

WE VALUE PEACE, PERHAPS EVEN MORE THAN OTHER PEOPLE, BECAUSE WE EXPERIENCED THE TERRIBLE WAR AGAINST HITLER. HOWEVER, OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT FLINCH IN THE FACE OF ANY ORDEAL. OUR PEOPLE TRUST THEIR GOVERNMENT, AND WE ASSURE OUR PEOPLE AND THE WORLD PUBLIC THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE PROVOKED.

SHOULD THE PROVOCATEURS UNLEASH A WAR, THEY WOULD NOT ESCAPE THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH A WAR. HOWEVER, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT REASON WILL TRIUMPH. WAR WILL NOT BE UNLEASHED AND THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF PEOPLE WILL BE INSURED!

IN CONNECTION WITH NEGOTIATIONS IN PROGRESS BETWEEN U.N. ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS SENT TO NEW YORK USSR FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS KUZNETSOV WITH A VIEW TO ASSISTING U THANT IN HIS NOBLE EFFORTS AIMED AT LIQUIDATION OF THE PRESENT DANGEROUS SITUATION.

WITH RESPECT FOR YOU, KHRUSHCHEV. OCTOBER 28, 1962.

(ENDALL)

OR OCT 1962A WML/WM

TRANSLATION FOLLOWS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 46235
T-94/T-24, R-V
Russian

[Embossed Seal of the USSR]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America in the USSR and has the honor to transmit herewith a letter from N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to J. F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America.

Moscow, October 28, 1962.

Embassy of the United States of America

Moscow

OFFICIAL ENGLISH TEXT OF KHRUSHCHEV MESSAGE

MOSCOW TASS IN ENGLISH TO EUROPE 1611 28 OCT 52

Dear Mr. President:

I have received your message of October 27. I express my satisfaction and thank you for the sense of proportion you have displayed and for realization of the responsibility which now devolves on you for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I regard with great understanding your concern and the concern of the United States people in connection with the fact that the weapons you describe as offensive are formidable weapons indeed. Both you and we understand what kind of weapons these are.

In order to eliminate as rapidly as possible the conflict which endangers the cause of peace, to give an assurance to all people who crave peace, and to reassure the American people, who, I am certain, also want peace, as do the people of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, in addition to earlier instructions on the discontinuation of further work on weapons construction sites, has given a new order to dismantle the arms which you described as offensive, and to crate and return them to the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, I should like to repeat what I had already written to you in my earlier messages--that the Soviet Government has given economic assistance to the Republic of Cuba, as well as arms, because Cuba and the Cuban people were constantly under the continuous threat of an invasion of Cuba.

A piratic vessel had shelled Havana. They say that this shelling was done by irresponsible Cuban emigres. Perhaps so, however, the question is from where did they shoot. It is a fact that these Cubans have no territory, they are fugitives from their country, and they have no means to conduct military operations.

This means that someone put into their hands these weapons for shelling Havana and for piracy in the Caribbean in Cuban territorial waters. It is impossible in our time not to notice a piratic ship, considering the concentration in the Caribbean of American ships from which everything can be seen and observed.

In these conditions, pirate ships freely roam around and shell Cuba and make piratic attacks on peaceful cargo ships. It is known that they even shelled a British cargo ship. In a word, Cuba was under the continuous threat of aggressive forces, which did not conceal their intention to invade its territory.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/DC/MR

REVIEWED BY *11/2/58* DATE

EXEMPTION () DECLASSIFY

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

EXEMPTION () EXEMPTION IN PART

The Cuban people want to build their life in their own interests without external interference. This is their right, and they cannot be blamed for wanting to be masters of their own country and disposing of the fruits of their own labor.

The threat of invasion of Cuba and all other schemes for creating tension over Cuba are designed to strike the Cuban people with a sense of insecurity, intimidate them, and prevent them from peacefully building their new life.

Mr. President, I should like to say clearly once more that we could not remain indifferent to this. The Soviet Government decided to render assistance to Cuba with the means of defense against aggression -- only with means for defense purposes. We have supplied the defense means which you describe as offensive means. We have supplied them to prevent an attack on Cuba -- to prevent rash acts.

I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your message of October 27, 1962, that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba, and not only on the part of the United States, but also on the part of other nations of the Western Hemisphere, as you said in your same message. Then the motives which induced us to render assistance of such a kind to Cuba disappear.

It is for this reason that we instructed our officers -- these means as I had already informed you earlier are in the hands of the Soviet officers -- to take appropriate measures to discontinue construction of the aforementioned facilities, to dismantle them, and to return them to the Soviet Union. As I had informed you in the letter of October 27, we are prepared to reach agreement to enable United Nations Representatives to verify the dismantling of these means.

Thus in view of the assurances you have given and our instructions on dismantling, there is every condition for eliminating the present conflict.

I note with satisfaction that you have responded to the desire I expressed with regard to elimination of the aforementioned dangerous situation, as well as with regard to providing conditions for a more thoughtful appraisal of the international situation, fraught as it is with great dangers in our age of thermonuclear weapons, rocketry, space-ships, global rockets, and other deadly weapons. All people are interested in insuring peace.

Therefore, vested with trust and great responsibility, we must not allow the situation to become aggravated and must stamp out the centers where a dangerous situation fraught with grave consequences to the cause of peace has arisen. If we, together with you, and with the assistance of other people of good will, succeed in eliminating this tense atmosphere, we should also make certain that no other dangerous conflicts which could lead to a world nuclear catastrophe would arise.

In conclusion, I should like to say something about a detente between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries that you have mentioned. We have spoken about this long since and are prepared to continue to exchange views on this question with you and to find a reasonable solution.

We should like to continue the exchange of views on the prohibition of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, general disarmament, and other problems relating to the relaxation of international tension.

Although I trust your statement, Mr. President, there are irresponsible people who would like to invade Cuba now and thus touch off a war. If we do take practical steps and proclaim the dismantling and evacuation of the means in question from Cuba, in so doing we, at the same time, want the Cuban people to be certain that we are with them and are not absolving ourselves of responsibility for rendering assistance to the Cuban people.

We are confident that the people of all countries, like you, Mr. President, will understand me correctly. We are not threatening. We want nothing but peace. Our country is now on the upsurge.

Our people are enjoying the fruits of their peaceful labor. They have achieved tremendous successes since the October Revolution, and created the greatest material, spiritual, and cultural values. Our people are enjoying these values; they want to continue developing their achievements and insure their further development on the way of peace and social progress by their persistent labor.

I should like to remind you, Mr. President, that military reconnaissance planes have violated the borders of the Soviet Union. In connection with this there have been conflicts between us and notes exchanged. In 1960 we shot down your U-2 plane, whose reconnaissance flight over the USSR wrecked the summit meeting in Paris. At that time, you took a correct position and denounced that criminal act of the former U.S. Administration.

But during your term of office as President another violation of our border has occurred, by an American U-2 plane in the Sakhalin area. We wrote you about that violation on 30 August. At that time you replied that that violation had occurred as a result of poor weather, and gave assurances that this would not be repeated. We trusted your assurance, because the weather was indeed poor in that area at that time.

But had not your planes been ordered to fly about our territory, even poor weather could not have brought an American plane into our airspace. Hence, the conclusion that this is being done with the knowledge of the Pentagon, which tramples on international norms and violates the borders of other states.

A still more dangerous case occurred on 28 October, when one of your reconnaissance planes intruded over Soviet borders in the Chukotka Peninsula area in the north and flew over our territory. The question is, Mr. President: How should we regard this. What is this: A provocation? One of your planes violates our frontier during this anxious time we are both experiencing, when everything has been put into combat readiness. Is it not a fact that an intruding American plane could be easily taken for a nuclear bomber, which might push us to a fateful step? And all the more so since the U.S. Government and Pentagon long ago declared that you are maintaining a continuous nuclear bomber patrol.

Therefore, you can imagine the responsibility you are assuming, especially now, when we are living through such anxious times.

I should like to express the following wish; it concerns the Cuban people. You do not have diplomatic relations. But through my officers in Cuba, I have reports that American planes are making flights over Cuba.

We are interested that there should be no war in the world, and that the Cuban people should live in peace. And besides, Mr. President, it is no secret that we have our people in Cuba. Under such a treaty with the Cuban Government we have sent there officers, instructors, mostly plain people: specialists, agronomists, zootechnicians, irrigators, land reclamation specialists, plain workers, tractor drivers, and others. We are concerned about them.

I should like you to consider, Mr. President, that violation of Cuban airspace by American planes could also lead to dangerous consequences. And if you do not want this to happen, it would better if no cause is given for a dangerous situation to arise.

We must be careful now and refrain from any steps which would not be useful to the defense of the states involved in the conflict, which could only cause irritation and even serve as a provocation for a fateful step. Therefore, we must display sanity, reason, and refrain from such steps.

We value peace perhaps even more than other peoples because we went through a terrible war with Hitler. But our people will not falter in the face of any test. Our people trust their Government, and we assure our people and world public opinion that the Soviet Government will not allow itself to be provoked. But if the provocateurs unleash a war, they will not evade responsibility and the grave consequences a war would bring upon them. But we are confident that reason will triumph, that war will not be unleashed and peace and the security of the peoples will be insured.

In connection with the current negotiations between Acting Secretary General U Thant and representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, and the Republic of Cuba, the Soviet Government has sent First Deputy Foreign Minister V. V. Kuznetsov to New York to help U Thant in his noble efforts aimed at eliminating the present dangerous situation.

Signed: Respectfully yours, N. Khrushchev

October 28, 1962

TRANSLATION FOLLOWS

(50)

Texto del Mensaje Enviado por el Primer Ministro Khrushchev
al Presidente Kennedy el 28 de octubre de 1962

Estimado Señor Presidente:

He recibido su mensaje del 27 de octubre. Deseo expresar mi satisfacción y agradecimiento por el sentido de proporción que ha mostrado y por haber comprendido la responsabilidad que le corresponde en el momento actual por el mantenimiento de la paz mundial.

Comprendo muy bien su preocupación y la preocupación del pueblo de los Estados Unidos con respecto al hecho de que las armas que usted describe como "ofensivas" son, en realidad, armas terribles. Ustedes y nosotros comprendamos qué clase de armas son.

A fin de eliminar con la mayor rapidez posible el conflicto que pone en peligro la causa de la paz, para dar confianza a todos los pueblos que aman la paz y para tranquilizar al pueblo norteamericano, el cual, estoy seguro, desea la paz tanto como la desea el pueblo de la Unión Soviética, el gobierno soviético, además de las instrucciones previamente emitidas en el sentido de que se descontinúe el trabajo en la construcción de bases para las armas, ha emitido una nueva orden para el desmantelamiento de las armas que usted describe como ofensivas y su embalaje y retorno a la Unión Soviética.

Señor Presidente, quisiera repetir una vez más lo que ya le había escrito en mis mensajes anteriores -- que el gobierno soviético ha dado ayuda económica como también armas a la República de Cuba, visto que Cuba y el pueblo cubano estaban constantemente bajo el peligro continuo de una invasión.

Una nave pirática bombardeó La Habana. Se dice que emigrados cubanos irresponsables fueron los autores de este bombardeo. Es posible que esto sea cierto. Sin embargo, surge la pregunta: desde dónde dispararon? Al fin y al cabo estos cubanos no tienen territorio, son fugitivos de su país, y no cuentan con los medios para llevar a cabo operaciones militares.

Esto significa que alguien puso en sus manos las armas para el bombardeo de La Habana y para la piratería en el Caribe, en aguas territoriales de Cuba. En nuestros tiempos es imposible dejar de notar un barco pirata, especialmente si se tiene en cuenta la concentración en el Caribe de naves norteamericanas desde las que todo se puede ver y observar.

En tales condiciones, barcos piráticos están rondando libremente alrededor de Cuba, bombardeándola y llevando a cabo ataques piráticos, aun sobre naves pacíficas de carga. Se sabe que hasta llegaron a cañonear a un buque de carga británico. En resumen, Cuba estuvo bajo la amenaza constante de fuerzas agresivas que no disimularon sus intenciones de invadir su territorio.

El pueblo cubano desea construir sus vidas para satisfacer sus propios intereses, sin interferencia del exterior. Este es su derecho y no se le puede culpar por querer ser dueños de su propio país y disponer de los frutos de su propio trabajo.

La amenaza de la invasión de Cuba y los demás planes destinados a crear tensión en torno a Cuba tienen como fin crear la incertidumbre en el pueblo cubano, intimidarlo e impedir que construyera pacíficamente su nueva vida.

Señor Presidente, quiero decirle claramente una vez más que nosotros no podíamos permanecer indiferentes ante esto. El gobierno soviético decidió prestarle ayuda a Cuba con los medios para defenderse contra la agresión — solamente con medios para fines defensivos. Hemos suministrado los medios defensivos que Usted describe como medios ofensivos. Los hemos suministrado para impedir un ataque a Cuba — para impedir acciones imprudentes.

Considero con respeto y confianza su declaración contenida en su mensaje del 27 de octubre de 1962, en el sentido de que no se producirá un ataque o una invasión de Cuba — y no solamente por parte de los Estados Unidos, sino también por parte de otras naciones del Hemisferio Occidental, según señala Usted en ese mismo mensaje. Entonces, los motivos que nos indujeron a proporcionar ayuda de esta índole a Cuba, desaparecen.

Es por tal motivo que hemos impartido instrucciones a nuestros oficiales — y estos medios, según ya había informado a Usted con anterioridad, están en manos de los oficiales soviéticos — a los efectos de que se tomen las medidas necesarias para detener la construcción de las instalaciones antes mencionadas, y desmantelarlas y devolverlas a la Unión Soviética. Según ya le expresé en la carta del 27 de octubre, estamos dispuestos a llegar a un acuerdo para que representantes de las Naciones Unidas puedan verificar el desmantelamiento de estos medios.

De esta forma, en virtud de las seguridades que Ud. ha ofrecido y de nuestras instrucciones de desmantelar, se refinen las condiciones necesarias para eliminar el conflicto actual.

Tomo nota con satisfacción de la circunstancia que Usted ha respondido a mi deseo respecto de la eliminación de la situación peligrosa antes mencionada y, asimismo, en cuanto a la creación de las condiciones que permitan una evaluación más meditada de la situación internacional, cargada de grandes peligros, en esta era de armas termomucleares, cohetes, vehículos espaciales, cohetes de alcance global y otras armas mortíferas. Todos los pueblos están interesados en asegurar la paz.

Por lo tanto, nosotros en quienes se ha depositado confianza y una enorme responsabilidad, no debemos permitir una exacerbación de la situación y debemos eliminar los focos donde se ha creado una situación peligrosa cargada de consecuencias serias para la causa de la paz. Si con su ayuda y con la de otras personas de buena voluntad tenemos éxito en la eliminación de este clima de tensiones, también deberemos asegurarnos de que no se produzcan otros conflictos peligrosos que podrían conducir a una catástrofe nuclear mundial.

Al finalizar, desearía hacer un comentario sobre una mitigación de las relaciones entre los países de la NATO y los del Tratado de Varsovia, a la que Usted ha aludido. Hace mucho hemos hablado al respecto y estamos dispuestos a continuar el intercambio de opiniones con Usted y hallar una solución razonable.

Desearíamos continuar el intercambio de opiniones sobre la prohibición de armas atómicas y termomucleares, el desarme general y otros problemas relacionados con la mitigación de la tensión internacional.

Si bien tengo confianza en su declaración, Señor Presidente, hay personas irresponsables que desearían invadir a Cuba ahora y con ello iniciar una guerra. Si tomamos medidas prácticas y proclamamos el desmantelamiento y la evacuación de los medios en cuestión desde Cuba, al hacerlo, deseamos asegurar, a la vez, al pueblo cubano que estamos de su parte y que no nos absolvemos de la responsabilidad de prestar asistencia al pueblo cubano.

Tenemos confianza que los pueblos de todos los países, al igual que Usted, Señor Presidente, me interpreten correctamente. No estamos amenazando. No deseamos más que la paz. Nuestro país está ahora en una fase de pleno impulso.

Nuestro pueblo está disfrutando los frutos de su labor pacífica. Ha alcanzado éxitos enormes desde la Revolución de Octubre y ha creado elementos de un gran valor material, espiritual y cultural. Nuestro pueblo disfruta de éstos; por medio de su labor tanaz desea continuar ampliando sus conquistas y asegurar su ulterior desarrollo por el camino de la paz y del progreso social.

Señor Presidente, quisiera recordarle que aviones militares de reconocimiento han violado las fronteras de la Unión Soviética. Con motivo de esto, han habido conflictos entre nosotros y hubo un intercambio de notas. En 1960 derribamos su avión U-2, cuyo vuelo de reconocimiento sobre la URSS hizo zozobrar la Reunión en la Cumbre en París. En aquel entonces Usted adoptó una actitud correcta y rechazó ese acto criminal del anterior gobierno de los Estados Unidos.

Sin embargo, durante su mandato presidencial ocurrió una segunda violación de nuestras fronteras por un avión U-2 en la región de Sakhalin. El 30 de agosto le escribimos sobre esta violación. Entonces Usted nos contestó indicando que esta violación tuvo lugar a causa del mal tiempo y nos aseguró que no volvería a pasar. Aceptámos su aseveración porque, en efecto, a la sazón había mal tiempo en dicha región.

Sin embargo, si sus aviones no hubiesen tenido órdenes de volar cerca de nuestro territorio, ni el mal tiempo habría llevado a un avión norteamericano a nuestro espacio aéreo. Esto lleva a la conclusión de que tales actos se cumplen a sabiendas del Pentágono, que pisotea las normas internacionales y viola las fronteras de otros estados.

Hubo un caso aún mucho más peligroso que aconteció el 28 de octubre cuando uno de sus aviones de reconocimiento pasó por las fronteras soviéticas por el Norte, en la zona de la península de Chukotka, y voló sobre nuestro territorio. Señor Presidente, me pregunto cómo debíamos interpretar esto? Qué es? Una provocación? Uno de sus aviones viola nuestras fronteras en momentos tan apremiantes como los que estamos atravesando, en momentos en que todo está en situación de alerta para entrar en combate. Acaso un avión norteamericano intrmetido no podría ser confundido fácilmente y tomado por bombardero nuclear, lo cual nos podría llevar a tomar un paso funesto? Más aún por el hecho que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos y el Pentágono anunciaron hace ya mucho tiempo que mantienen una patrulla de bombarderos nucleares continua.

Por lo tanto, puede muy bien imaginar la responsabilidad que está asumiendo, sobre todo ahora, que vivimos en tiempos tan apremiantes.

Quisiera también expresar el siguiente deseo; se refiere al pueblo cubano. Ustedes no mantienen relaciones diplomáticas. Pero por intermedio de mis oficiales en Cuba, tengo informes que indican que hay aviones americanos que están realizando vuelos sobre Cuba.

Estamos interesados en que no haya guerra en el mundo y que el pueblo cubano viva en paz. Y, además, Señor Presidente, no es secreto de que tenemos a nuestra gente en Cuba. De conformidad con un tratado que suscribimos con el Gobierno cubano, hemos enviado oficiales, instructores, en su mayor parte personas corrientes: especialistas, agrónomos,

técnico en garadería, en rozado, en reposición de suelos, simples trabajadores, conductores de tractores y otros. Estamos preocupados por ellos.

Quisiera que Usted considere, Señor Presidente, que la violación del espacio aéreo cubano por parte de aviones americanos también podría tener consecuencias peligrosas. Y si Usted no quiere que esto suceda, sería mejor no crear los motivos que pueden dar lugar a tal situación de peligro.

Debemos tener cuidado ahora y dejar de tomar aquellas medidas que no resultarían útiles para la defensa de los estados involucrados en el conflicto; que sólo servirían para causar una mayor irritación e incluso constituirían una provocación que llevaría a un paso funesto. Por lo tanto, debemos dar pruebas de sensatez, comedimiento y dejar de tomar esas medidas.

Nosotros atesoramos la paz aún más que otros pueblos porque pasamos por una guerra terrible contra Hitler. Pero nuestro pueblo no vacilará ante ninguna prueba. Nuestro pueblo confía en su gobierno, y aseguramos a nuestro pueblo y a la opinión pública mundial que el gobierno soviético no se dejará provocar. Pero si los provocadores desencadenan una guerra, no evadiremos nuestra responsabilidad y las serias consecuencias que para ellos acarrearía una guerra. Pero confiamos en que la razón saldrá triunfante, que no se desencadenará una guerra y que se asegurará la paz y la seguridad de los pueblos.

Con motivo de las negociaciones actuales entre el Secretario General interino U Thant y los representantes de la Unión Soviética, los Estados Unidos y la República de Cuba, el gobierno soviético ha enviado a Nueva York a V.V. Kuznetsov, Primer Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores, para asistir a U Thant en sus nobles esfuerzos encaminados a eliminar la situación peligrosa actual.

Firmado: Salúdalo respetuosamente, N. Khrushchev.

28 de octubre de 1962